

COULTERVILLE ROAD

Yosemite National Park Roads and Bridges

Between Hazel Green and El Portal Road

Yosemite National Park

Mariposa County

California

HAER NO. CA-146

HAER

CAL

22-YOSEM,

28-

-PHOTOGRAPHS

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD

National Park Service

U.S. Department of the Interior

P.O. Box 37127

Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD

COULTERVILLE ROAD
[Coulterville and Yo Semite Turnpike]
Yosemite National Park
HAER No. CA-146

HAER
CAL
22-YOSEM,
28-

I. INTRODUCTION

Location: Between Hazel Green and the El Portal Road
(2 1/4 miles NE of Arch Rock Entrance),
Yosemite National Park, Mariposa County,
California.

UTMs: West end: Hazel Green vicinity
Ackerson Mountain quadrangle
11/248000/4183280
West end: 2.25 miles NE of Arch Rock
El Capitan quadrangle
11/260665/4177865

[Note: Location references refer only to
sections of road within the park.]

Date of Construction: 1874

Designer and Builder: Builder: Dr. John Taylor McLean

Original and Present Owner: Original Owner: Coulterville & Yo Semite
Turnpike Company
Present Owner: Mariposa County and
Yosemite National Park, National
Park Service

Present Use: Access road in Foresta and Hazel
Green vicinities, hiking trail
between Foresta and east end, and in
the Merced Grove.

Significance: The first road to reach the Yosemite
Valley, the Coulterville Road is
significant for its associations
with the development of transportation in
Yosemite National Park.

Project Information: Documentation of the Coulterville Road is
part of the Yosemite National Park Roads
and Bridges Recording Project, conducted
in summer 1991 by the Historic American
Engineering Record.

Richard H. Quin, Historian

II. HISTORY

This is one in a series of reports prepared for the Yosemite National Park Roads and Bridges Recording Project. HAER No. CA-117, YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK ROADS AND BRIDGES, contains an overview history of the park roads.

HISTORY OF THE COULTERVILLE ROAD

The Coulterville & Yosemite Turnpike, completed in 1874, was the first wagon road to reach Yosemite Valley. It was built over several stages to connect the northern Mariposa County mining town of Coulterville with the Valley. The toll road was the first wagon road into the Valley, but was never a commercial success, as a competing road along a similar alignment was completed less than a month later. The road was also the first in the park to be opened to automobiles, and remained a scenic mountain drive until 1982. Although much of the road within the park has been closed by rockslides or realignments, the route can easily be followed on foot.

Coulterville business interests sought to attract tourists bound for the Yosemite Valley by promoting the construction of a connecting pack trail to the Valley. Dr. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a veteran of the Mariposa Battalion's expedition, George W. Coulter, and several others formed a company to construct the so-called "Coulterville Free Trail" in 1856. They engaged Jean-Nicholas Perlot, a Belgian miner familiar with the approaches to the Valley, to oversee construction. Perlot used ten Indians as laborers. The route utilized an existing 17-mile mining road from Coulterville to Black's Ranch on Bull Creek, but the remainder of the 48-mile route was new construction. It ran from Black's to Deer Creek, then east to Hazel Green, Crane Flat, Tamarack Flat and Gentry's, from which it dropped in a steep descent to Yosemite Valley. Artist Thomas Ayers, who made a second visit to Yosemite in 1856, described the new route as "a good though very steep trail." Dr. Bunnell also blazed a somewhat longer but comparatively snow-free alternative route down Crane Creek from Crane Flat, joining the main trail at its Cascade Creek crossing.¹

By the late 1860s, enough tourists and travelers were making the Yosemite trip to encourage the construction of a wagon road. A toll road to connect Coulterville with Yosemite Valley was proposed in 1866 by Ike Amsden. However, the Mariposa County Commission rejected his petition.² In December 1869, Coulterville citizens organized a company to begin construction of a wagon road to Yosemite Valley. James Shimers was elected president of this enterprise, George W. Coulter was chosen as secretary, and a Dr. Cody as treasurer. Some \$4,000 was pledged for the work, and surveyors were put to work on the selection of the new route.³ In February 1870, this cartel was apparently reorganized as the "Coulterville Road Company," and began construction of a wagon road from Bower Cave (the existing road terminus, 12 miles southwest of Coulterville on the North Fork of the Merced River) across the southern flank of Pilot Peak to Hazel Green, where it met an existing horse trail to the Valley. The first 5 miles of the route were placed under contract immediately. Road workers were paid \$40 a month and board, half in cash and half in company stock.⁴

The enterprise was reorganized as the "Coulterville and Yosemite Turnpike Company" on 6 October 1870 by Dr. John Taylor McLean, Jonathan Mentzer, Daniel Wagner, Andrew Goss, James Lindsay, J. W. Porter, C. W. Hobron, John Converse, D. M. Field, J. D. Wolleson, and J. W. Fuqua. Lindsey was elected president and Porter Secretary. The new company intended to complete the road to the boundary of the Yosemite Grant. Its \$20,000 in capital stock was divided into 800 shares at \$25 each; one quarter of the stock was "paid in" at the start.⁵

On 14 May 1871, the *Stockton Weekly Independent* reported, "Coulterville people are pushing forward their road to Yosemite with great energy. Cash assessments have been promptly paid and the company has money on hand to pay all expenses to date." Forty men were at work on the road, which was noted as having a 12 percent grade. The newspaper claimed the road would reach Hazel Green at the end of the month and by 1 June would reach Crane Flat, only 9 miles from the Valley rim. However, Crane Flat would not be reached for more than two years; from Crane Flat, the Coulterville Road Company apparently intended for patrons to continue on to the Valley on existing saddle trails.⁶

By 1872, the company had nearly exhausted its funds, and the road had only reached the vicinity of Crane Flat; only a skeleton construction crew was still employed. At this point, Dr. McLean, a San Francisco surgeon, began taking options on the outstanding stock of the Coulterville and Yosemite Turnpike Company. McLean had first visited the Yosemite Grant in the summer of 1867, accompanied by his wife and son. The tiresome ride the family party had to undertake on horseback to reach the valley convinced McLean that a wagon road into Yosemite was a much needed and potentially profitable venture. He applied to the Yosemite Board of Commissioners for exclusive rights to construct a toll road into the Valley, and on 16 July 1872, the commissioners awarded him the exclusive road rights for a period of 10 years. The commissioners justified the exclusivity clause because construction of the road would be so expensive as to require its builder to have the assurance of collecting tolls for its use from all who might wish to enter the park from the north. No toll was to be charged for horses carrying hay and grain or lumber for building purposes. McLean was given a deadline of completing the road by the end of 1873. He quickly gained control of 796 of the 800 original shares for \$15,000; this also gave him the 19-mile section of road from Bower Cave to Crane Flat.⁷

In January 1873, the *Mariposa Gazette* reported that Dr. McLean's new survey for the remaining section of the road was completed. McLean later paid \$10,000 to reroute the road through the Merced Grove of Giant Sequoias, which he claimed to have discovered;⁸ he also announced plans to build a hotel in the grove. (It was not built.)⁸ Rerouting of the road through the grove was apparently a marketing move, enabling his road to better compete for tourists with the southern road from Mariposa to the South Fork of the Merced and its spur to the Mariposa Big Tree Grove. At this time, the 6-mile section of road between Hazel Green and Crane Flat was bypassed for the new route through the Merced Grove. By June of 1873, the *Mariposa Gazette* reported that McLean's road had been completed to within 14 miles of the Valley.⁹

McLean had been assured by his surveyors that the cost of construction of the segment between Hazel Green and the Valley floor would not exceed \$20,000. As it happened, the section cost a full \$56,000, mainly due to the huge amount of blasting required to bring the road down the cliff from the valley rim. McLean's total costs ran to \$71,000; his attorney later stated that the sum nearly exhausted his personal fortune. The road work was hampered by heavy snows in 1873, and Governor Booth extended McLean's deadline to 31 December 1874.¹⁰

* McLean did not discover the Merced Grove; it was probably first seen by the Joseph Walker party in 1833. It was rediscovered in 1858 by a Mr. Roney. The Whitney survey saw it as well, and called it the "Crane Flat Grove." Dr. McLean's surveyors may have not been aware of the earlier visitors; he [re]named it the Merced Grove after the Merced River, five miles south. [Peter Browning, *Yosemite Place Names*, (Lafayette, CA: Great Sierra Books, 1988), 92.

By this point, Dr. McLean was facing competition from the revived Yosemite Turnpike Company, which was again at work on the former Chinese Camp and Yo Semite Turnpike, later known as the Big Oak Flat Road [HAER No. CA-147]. This company had applied to the Yosemite commissioners for rights to construct another road into the Valley along the north bank of the Merced, but had their request rejected. In denying the petition, the commissioners resolved

That as the Commissioners have already granted a privilege to the Coulterville Turnpike Company to build a wagon road into the Yosemite Valley, under that which the company have expended money and acquired vested rights, this Commission cannot comply with the request of the Yosemite Turnpike Company.¹¹

At this point, the Yosemite Turnpike Company applied to the State legislature and were granted a permit over the Coulterville group's objections. In response to the challenge, work was stepped up on the construction of the Coulterville Road. On 2 April 1874, a correspondent to the *Mariposa Gazette* noted that "Dr. McLean is rushing the road toward Yo Semite Valley. He has a large force at work, and is sending forward more men and tools." McLean was offering assurances that the road would open by 1 June, or by 15 May if the weather permitted.¹² At the same time, the Coulterville group was engaged in improving a connecting road between Coulterville and Merced Falls.¹³

Dr. McLean's company rejected a request from John Ferguson to have the road rerouted to pass to the Valley via Ferguson's Mill, even though Ferguson had offered \$5,000 for the alternate route. Ferguson apparently did try to construct the "Ferguson's Mill and Yo Semite Turnpike" running from his mill along a trail constructed by A. W. Bolton up to Big Meadow, then across Remorse Creek to Hazel Green and a connection with the Coulterville Road. In May 1874, Ferguson was authorized by the Mariposa County Board of Supervisors to collect a 50¢ toll from users of his 'turnpike.'¹⁴ The road was apparently constructed but soon fell into disuse.¹⁵

Construction continued through early 1874, and the "Coulterville Road" was finally completed to the Valley in June. On the 17th of the month, Dr. McLean and a few supporters brought the first stage coaches down the road into the Valley. The formal opening took place the next day. Ceremonies included a procession a quarter of a mile long, fireworks, bonfires on the cliffs and much celebration. The days when the Yosemite Valley could only be reached by horseback had come to a close. Some fifty carriages passed over the Coulterville Road that day.¹⁶

McLean's new route dropped from Hazel Green to Buena Vista Gap with its first view of the Yosemite Valley to Big Meadow near present Foresta. It then made a short climb to the rim before making an extremely steep descent of 1 1/2 miles down a 16 percent grade to the Merced River Canyon floor a mile west of Cascade Creek. Here it continued east 4 1/2 miles into the Yosemite Valley where it joined the existing Valley road at the iron bridge (now Pohono Bridge) over the Merced.

Completion of the Coulterville Road led to increased tourist visitation to the Yosemite Grant by providing a connection with the Central Pacific Railroad at Modesto. Among the famous early travelers of the route were Horace Greeley, Lady Franklin (wife of the ill-fated Arctic explorer), and Ralph Waldo Emerson.¹⁷ The "Mammoth Tree and Yo Semite Stage Company," operated by Albert Henry Washburn and James McCready, began running a few stages in over the new road from Merced Falls, then out via the Mariposa Big Tree Grove to the south, using pack horses for the intervening section; this was shortly before Washburn and his later partners completed the Wawona Road in 1875. McClena-

than's Stage Company (later McClenathan and Coffman) also ran coaches over the road. In 1875, a new and easier route between Coulterville and Bower Cave was placed in service, shortening the road's length by several miles.¹⁸

Toll rates for the section between Bower Cave and the Yosemite Grant boundary were set by the Mariposa County Board of Supervisors on 4 May 1874, and were:

Vehicle pulled by one animal	\$2.00
Vehicle pulled by two animals	4.00
Vehicle pulled by four animals	8.00
Vehicle pulled by six animals	12.00
Each additional span or yoke	2.00
Horse and rider	1.00
Pack animal	50¢
Loose animal	25¢
Goats, sheep, hogs, each	10¢ ¹⁹

The width of the road varied from 8'-40', averaging at 10'; turnouts were provided for the narrower sections. Tolls were collected at the Fred Wenger ranch at Coulterville and on the western edge of the Yosemite Grant. The road's sunny southern exposure allowed it to open earlier than its later competitors and provided for easier maintenance. McLean employed a "considerable force" in the spring to clear the road of snow in order to have it open it for passage.²⁰

Dr. McLean's monopoly lasted less than a month. The Yosemite Turnpike Road Company had renewed its efforts after its shareholders realized that the completion of the Coulterville Road would decimate their investment and discourage Yosemite-bound tourists from passing through Tuolumne County. As noted, the company's request to extend the road was rejected by the Yosemite commissioners. The consortium then turned to the Legislature, arguing that the commissioners had no right to grant a monopoly to McLean's company. Despite protests from the Coulterville group, the legislature granted the Yosemite Turnpike Company permission to extend the road, which was completed on 17 July 1874, twenty-nine days after the Coulterville Road.²¹

The financially strapped McLean was exasperated at the turn of events. "I would have seen them all in Tophet [Hell] before I would have put a dollar in a road if I knew another road would be allowed on the same side of the Valley," he told the Yosemite commissioners. They sympathized with the doctor, feeling that the state legislature had treated him unfairly by allowing the competing road to be built. However, the commissioners were unable to restore his exclusive rights.²²

At the eastern end of the Coulterville Road, tolls were originally collected at the "Blacksmith's Shop," a hole in a pile of huge boulders at the base of the road's steep drop to the Merced River; it had housed a forge in the 1870s. Because no tolls were collected on the part of the road on the Valley floor, visitors to the Cascades, just west of the Yosemite Grant boundary, often used the Valley section of Dr. McLean's road without paying any tolls. To try to capture some of the revenue, McLean had the toll house moved to the east side of the Cascades in the summer of 1875. On 12 August, the toll house here was burned, killing the toll collector, George Ezra Boston. All the toll books and other accounts for the first year of operations were lost in the fire. An Indian, Piute George, was later arrested by Deputy Sheriff Westfall and convicted for the murder, but McLean nevertheless moved his toll gate to Big Meadow and relinquished the collection of tolls from visitors to the Cascades.²³

On 2 April 1885, the state purchased the 4.37-mile section of the Coulterville Road within the Yosemite Grant boundaries for \$10,000; this same section had cost the unfortunate Dr. McLean \$12,000 for construction.²⁴

In the early 1890s, Dr. McLean filed suit against the state for damages incurred by the action of the legislature in allowing the construction of the Big Oak Flat Road. However, his actions, which he carried to the state supreme court, were unsuccessful. His investment in the road had been a most unprofitable venture. The total cost of the road and improvements had been \$71,000, but tolls through 1899 brought in only \$33,923.71. McLean then attempted to sell the remainder of the road to the federal government; however, no action was taken on his requests. He died in Alameda on 17 July 1902, reportedly a dispirited and broken man.²⁵

The first automobile to travel the Coulterville Road was apparently brought in by Oliver Lippincott on 5 May 1902. Two years earlier, Lippincott had driven the first car into the Yosemite Valley, arriving by the Wawona Road. Perhaps a few more cars came down the Coulterville Road in the next five years, but in June 1907, Col. H. C. Benson, the new Acting Park Superintendent, banned all automobiles from entering Yosemite National Park.²⁶

In 1903, Mary Helen McLean, daughter of Dr. McLean and the owner of the Coulterville Road, contacted the park superintendent, Lt. Col. Joseph Garrard, for permission to cut trees at Hazel Green and Big Meadows, in order to open up views of Half Dome and El Capitan. She was given permission to remove some but not all of the requested trees.²⁷ Miss McLean apparently sought to clear the views to provide for the travellers' pleasure, which was of course good business as well.

With the completion of the Yosemite Valley Rail Road in 1907, use of the Coulterville Road (as well as the other stage roads) declined severely. So few people passed over the road that maintenance costs far outweighed the tolls collected. On 25 June 1908, the Coulterville and Yosemite Turnpike Company turned over the section of its road between Bower Cave and Hazel Green to Mariposa County, which made it a free road. Three years later, the county took over the remaining portion of the route, claiming that the company had failed to pay its taxes after 1906 and had thus forfeited title to the road. Mary Helen McLean did have her ownership reinstated by the courts in 1917, albeit without compensation, but when the corporate franchise expired in 1920, the road passed back to the county.²⁸

Pressed by motorists, automobile dealers, auto clubs and chambers of commerce, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane repealed the ban on automobile access to the park in April 1913. The Coulterville Road was the first route chosen for the re-entry of automobiles to the park, and was quickly put back in shape for motorists' use. The *Modesto Mining Herald* extolled the road for its many beauties, including the Merced Grove of Giant Sequoias, and for its access to the new resort development at Foresta.²⁹ On 23 August 1913, the road was formally reopened to automobile traffic.

Designation of the Coulterville Road as the sole route for automobile use was blasted by adherents of the other toll roads. Interests backing the Wawona Road accused the Yosemite Valley Rail Road of influencing the Park Service to open the worst of the roads so as to discourage motorists from driving to the park. In the *Madera Tribune*, they charged that YVRR had wine and dined the NPS officials that inspected the park roads, and convinced them to choose the Coulterville Road, which the article claimed had a "29 percent grade." The state and federal governments were charged with duplicity in the matter.

It is intimated and stated as a positive fact that the Yosemite Valley railroad by the use of the machinery of the old Southern Pacific political machine of California--and by insidious influence with underlings in the department of the Interior has sought to prevent the opening of any automobile road to the Valley, or if any of them must be opened that the poorest road shall be opened, and the poorest of course is the Coulterville.³⁰

The *Fresno Republican* in June 1913 complained that motorists from areas to the south of the park would be put at a disadvantage on account of the Coulterville Road's new monopoly.³¹ The other roads were opened to automobiles over the next few years.

The Federal Government sought to purchase the section of road within the park in 1916, but Mariposa County refused to sell out. In return, the National Park Service discontinued maintenance on this part.³² Over the next five decades, the road was subject to only indifferent care. Work began on the replacement of a small log bridge at Big Meadows in 1934, but the structure was not completed until 1938. The section of the road inside the park was paved in 1961, but most of the route to the west remained a dirt track.³³

The Yosemite terminus of the Coulterville Road was closed for good by a massive rockslide on 3 April 1982, which shut off the road just above its junction with the Merced Road. Park Superintendent Robert Binneweis reflected on the road's end: "The road surely is a part of the rich and varied history of Yosemite. Unfortunately, its collision with the geologic history of the Park was inevitable, and the rocks prevailed."³⁴

Today, less than 3 miles of the old Coulterville Road remains open to vehicular traffic within Yosemite National Park. The road enters from the Stanislaus National Forest 2 miles northwest of Foresta and a quarter of a mile east of its crossing of Little Crane Creek at Little Nellie Falls (named for Mary Helen McLean). It then passes just north of Foresta along the southern edge of Big Meadow, where its toll gate was long located. The George Meyer Barn at Big Meadows, which survived the 1990 fires, was a stage stop on the route. The road then continues east for a mile to a juncture with Foresta's modern access road from the New Big Oak Flat Road. The remaining section, with the precipitous 1 1/2-mile descent to the Merced River, was abandoned after the 1982 rockslide. The route can be hiked, but scrambling over the rockslide at the bottom is very difficult. Another mile of the road can be traced through the Merced Grove of Giant Sequoias, but this segment is now restricted to use as a foot trail and fire motorway. The remaining section of the road, from Hazel Green to Coulterville, is generally intact but lies outside the national park. The old Coulterville Road through the park has been determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places for its local significance to Yosemite in transportation.

III. ENDNOTES

1. Margaret Sanborn, *Yosemite: Its Discovery, Its Wonders, and Its People* (New York: Random House, 1981), 55; Francis P. Farquar, *History of the Sierra Nevada* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 118; Johnston, I:34; Greene, I:43n. Note that the main trail roughly followed the route of the present Big Oak Flat Trail, and the trail junction was on Cascade Creek above the falls.
2. Carl P. Russell, "Highlights in the History of the Big Oak Flat Road," typed MSS, 7 May 1951, Yosemite Research Library.
3. "Road Company," *Mariposa Gazette*, 10 December 1869, 2.
4. "Coulterville Road Company," *Mariposa Gazette*, 18 February 1870, 2; Hank Johnston, *Yosemite's Yesterdays*, (Yosemite, CA: Flying Spur Press, 1991), Vol. II, 36.
5. Catherine Coffin Phillips, *Coulterville Chronicle: The Annals of a Mother Lode Mining Town* (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1942), 179; Johnston, II:36.
6. "Yosemite Road," *Stockton Weekly Independent*, 14 May 1870; Johnston, II:36.
7. Johnston, II:38-39; Linda Wedel Greene, *Yosemite, The Park and Its Resources: A History of the Discovery, Management, and Physical Development of Yosemite National Park, California*, 3 vols. (Denver, CO: National Park Service, 1987), Vol. I, 97.
8. "The Proposed Coulterville Route to Yo Semite," *Mariposa Gazette*, 24 January 1873, 3; Shirley Sargent, "The Road that Belongs to Yesterday," *Westways*, February 1959, 22.
9. "Coulterville Correspondence," *Mariposa Gazette*, 13 June 1873, 2.
10. Johnston, II:40; *Laws and Judicial Decisions Relating to the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree Grove; Opinion of Hon. John Currey that the Legislature Cannot Legally Interfere with the Management of the Commissioners of the Territory within the Above-Named Grants; Also, a History of the Action of the Commissioners in Relation to the Wagon Road Leading into the Yosemite Valley, on the North Side of the Merced River; and a Statement of Progress Made by the Coulterville and Yosemite Turnpike Company in Building its Road into and upon the Level of the Yosemite Valley.* (San Francisco: Currey & Co., Book and Job Printers, 1874).
11. Cited in "Yosemite: Meeting of the Commission--Action in Relation to Wagon Road," (Sonora, CA) *Union Democrat*, 15 November 1873, 2.
12. "Coulterville Letter," *Mariposa Gazette*, 2 April 1874, 2; "The Coulterville and Yo Semite Turnpike," *Mariposa Gazette*, 2 April 1874, 3.
13. "The New Road Between Coulterville and Merced Falls," *Mariposa Gazette*, 22 May 1874, 2.

14. "Trip to the Yo Semite," *Mariposa Gazette*, 22 May 1874, 2; "Ferguson Mill & Yo Semite Turnpike Company," *Mariposa Gazette*, 22 May 1874, 2.
15. Yosemite National Park Historian James B. Snyder indicated that some traces of the route are still occasionally visible.
16. "Grand Yo Semite Jubilee," *Mariposa Gazette*, 26 June 1874, 3.
17. Phillips, 180.
18. "The Yosemite Travel-A Round Trip," *Mariposa Gazette*, 21 April 1877, 2; "Letter from Coulterville," *Mariposa Gazette*, 22 May 1875, 2.
19. Minutes, Mariposa County Board of Supervisors, 4 May 1874, in Supervisors' Book B, 705-706.
20. Sargent, 22; Greene, I:98; "Coulterville Correspondence," *Mariposa Gazette*, 29 April 1876, 2.
21. Johnston, II:41, 43.
22. *Ibid.*, II:50.
23. *Ibid.*, II:51-52; Greene, I:98; "Murder and Burning," *Mariposa Gazette*, 21 August 1875, 3; "The Indian, 'Piute George'," *Mariposa Gazette*, 11 September 1875, 3.
24. Johnston, II:52.
25. Sargent, 22; Johnston, II:57-58.
26. Johnston, II:11, 15.
27. Mary Helen McLean to Lt. Col. Garrard, 10 July 1903. Yosemite Research Library Collection.
28. Johnston, II:60.
29. "Strong Boost for Coulterville Road," *Modesto Mining Herald*, 7 May 1913. Yosemite Research Library collection.
30. "This Sounds Like a Voice from the Tomb," *Madera Tribune*, 31 August 1913.
31. "Open Wawona Road," *Fresno Republican*, 27 June 1913.
32. Sargent, 22.
33. Charles Goff Thomson, Superintendent's Monthly Report, March 1934, 3; Lawrence C. Merriam, Superintendent's Monthly Report, October 1938, 5b; Shirley Sargent, *Yosemite's Rustic Outpost: Foresta-Big Meadow* (Yosemite: Flying Spur Press, 1983), 69.
34. Sargent, *Yosemite's Rustic Outpost*, 90.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

PUBLISHED PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Greene, Linda Wedel. *Yosemite, The Park and Its Resources: A History of the Discovery, Management, and Physical Development of Yosemite National Park, California*. 3 vole. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1987).

Laws and Judicial Decisions Relating to the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree Grove; Opinion of Hon. John Currey that the Legislature Cannot Legally Interfere with the Management of the Commissioners of the Territory within the Above-Named Grants; Also, a History of the Action of the Commissioners in Relation to the Wagon Road Leading into the Yosemite Valley, on the North Side of the Merced River; and a Statement of Progress Made by the Coulterville and Yosemite Turnpike Company in Building its Road into and upon the Level of the Yosemite Valley. (San Francisco: Currey & Co., Book and Job Printers, 1874).

UNPUBLISHED PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Mariposa County Board of Supervisors minuted, 4 May 1874. Supervisors' Book B, 705-06.

BOOKS

Johnston, Hank. *Yosemite's Yesterdays*. (Yosemite, CA: Flying Spur Press, 1991).

Phillips, Catherine Coffin. *Coulterville Chronicle: The Annals of a Mother Lode Mining Town* (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1942).

Sanborn, Margaret. *Yosemite: Its Discovery, Its Wonders, and Its People*. (New York: Random House, 1981).

Sargent, Shirley. *Yosemite's Rustic Outpost: Foresta-Big Meadow*. (Yosemite, CA: Flying Spur Press, 1983).

ARTICLES

"Coulterville Correspondence," *Mariposa Gazette*, 13 June 1873, 2.

"Coulterville Letter," *Mariposa Gazette*, 2 April 1874.

"Coulterville Road Company," *Mariposa Gazette*, 18 February 1870, 2.

"The Coulterville & Yosemite Turnpike," *Mariposa Gazette*, 2 April 1874.

"Ferguson Mill & Yosemite Turnpike Company," *Mariposa Gazette*, 22 May 1874, 2.

"Grand Yosemite Jubilee," *Mariposa Gazette*, 26 June 1874, 3.

"The New Road Between Coulterville and Merced Falls," *Mariposa Gazette*, 22 May 1874, 2.

- "Open Wawona Road," *Fresno Republican*, 27 June 1913.
- "The Proposed Coulterville Route to Yo Semite," *Mariposa Gazette*, 24 January 1873, 3.
- "Road Company," *Mariposa Gazette*, 10 December 1869, 2.
- Sargent, Shirley. "The Road that Belongs to Yesterday," *Westways*, February 1959.
- "Strong Boost for Coulterville Road." *Modesto Mining Herald*, 7 May 1913.
- "This Sounds Like a Voice from the Tomb," *Madera Tribune*, 31 August 1913.
- "Trip to the Yo Semite," *Mariposa Gazette*, 22 May 1874.
- "Yosemite: Meeting of the Commission--Action in Relation to Wagon Road," (Sonora, CA) *Union Democrat*, 15 November 1873, 2.

LETTERS

- McLean, Mary Helen to Lt. Col. Garrard, 10 July 1903. Yosemite Research Library collection.

MANUSCRIPTS

- Russell, Carl P. "Highlights in the History of the Big Oak Flat Road." Typed MSS, 7 May 1951. Yosemite Research Library.